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231 ment while two others had been sent to River Joe's son-in-law, Louis Mara, because of the report that the latter had killed two moose.

[552] Most people call their dogs in English. Some of the names given are: Tobacco, Paper, Yukon, Boiler, One Dollar, Spotty and Wolverine (also called Long Face in the Kaska [422] language). Dogs are generally owned by men, but women and children usually prepare their food and feed them.

Little attention is paid to keeping dogs free from fleas or lice, although wood ashes applied to the animal's hair is regarded as effective in killing these pests. An efficient way of removing porcupine quills from a dog is to empty a porcupine's bladder on the affected parts. The urine stops the quills from penetrating further and the needles can then be painlessly withdrawn.

231 A few Nelson Indians own horses purchased from points outside of the Kaska area.[1]
492 A family generally owns two or three horses and the winter mortality of the animals is
[439] apparently high. Horses are used as riding animals by both sexes. Boys from the age of twelve experience great enjoyment galloping and often ride bareback. Western type saddles are generally employed and preferred for riding. The main function of horses is to pack supplies from the trading post to the winter settlements, but they are also used in summer and fall to pack meat from a moose kill. One or two people in the Upper Liard River district considered purchasing horses with which winter outfits could be transported overland northeastward from the Alaska Highway. Other Indians maintained that horses are suitable east of Lower Post because there the snow is not very deep and horses can winter out. On the Upper Liard, however, the deeper snow would make winter feeding a serious problem. No grain is purchased for the winter feeding of horses. Some men showed considerable affection for these animals and also demonstrated a knowledge of equine qualities.

411 *Weapons.* Large and small caliber rifles are used in hunting. The single-shot bolt-action
224 rifle, firing a short or long .22 caliber cartridge, is mainly used for fowl and small game like rabbits. It is also used to kill furbearing animals, such as lynx, wolf and coyote, when these are found alive in traps. The relatively low cost of this gun permits extensive distribution. It is the first weapon which the adolescent boy or girl is able to use and own. The larger rifles of Canadian or American manufacture, firing a .30/30 or /.30/06 caliber shell, are used for killing large game like the moose and caribou. These guns are also regarded as necessary protection against the danger of bears. Their ownership is restricted to men, older boys, and women.

411 Considerable interest and discussion revolves around the types of shells available for
● 813 large caliber rifles. Long shells are preferred in the .22 size. Hard point large caliber car-

[1] According to one informant the horse was introduced from Fort Nelson, presumably by members of the Nelson Tribe. If true, this would put the date of the introduction of the horse after 1920, or after this animal reached the Fort Nelson River (Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* [1946], 114). According to Old Man, however, the Kaska certainly saw their first horse many years earlier, when the Klondike miners passed up the Liard and Frances Rivers' valleys. It is also possible that the horse was originally introduced from the south, via Porte Grahame and Ware, rather than from the east, and it is also well to remember that horse packing for big game hunters has long been an important occupation at Telegraph Creek. In 1944-45 a number of white packers kept horses around Racing River, 150 miles east of Lower Post, and also at Teslin Lake. In these purchased horses during this period from a trucker, who brought the animals from Dawson Creek.

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tridges, bearing what is called a "steel" point, are considered superior to soft point shells. The former are said to kill quicker and this especially recommends them for use against an animal like the grizzly bear. "Go right clean through," Nitla said, explaining the force of the steel tipped cartridge. A soft point shell, on the other hand, may be stopped if it strikes bone. It is understood that the point of the cartridge must be neither too long nor too heavy, else it will lose in distance, dropping low. Beyond this there is no interest in ballistics.

Constant watchfulness is exercised in the handling of guns. A loaded gun will never be used to test ice or as a walking stick nor are .22's kept around camp with a loaded chamber. Fourteen year old Donald Suza expressed disapproval of the ethnographer keeping a loaded .22 in the cabin. "What for you load gun?" he demanded. Asked if this was not good sense, he replied: "Yeah, no good."

Most young men are capable of making repairs on a gun, such as adjusting the sights or sawing down the barrel and constructing new sights. Testing the firing power, range, and trajectory of rifles is one of the reasons for target practice. Much of this firing, however, is not designed to test the weapon but rather the shooter's marksmanship. Target practice is never seriously competitive. Girls were not observed to use guns for this purpose in camp. According to Old Man, however, girls are apt to target shoot when in the bush. Older men tend to condemn this shooting as wasteful. Old Man mildly scolded Donald Suza for target practice. "What you want to shoot water for? You can't eat water." But both Old Man and Old Kean admitted to target shooting in their youth.

Tools. Certain essential tools are found in every household. Women's tools include scissors, needles, thimbles, and steel awls. A married woman generally owns her own ax, butcher knife, file, and tanning tools. The latter include a metal scraper, used to remove hair from moosehide, and a skin softener. Scrapers are manufactured by men from discarded files. The handle of the file is removed and the metal pounded flat on both ends. The flaring ends are then bent in opposite directions and sharpened. The center of the tool is wrapped in cloth or moosehide to provide a grip. The skin softener is prepared from a piece of green wood eighteen inches long and about three inches in diameter. The surface is rounded and smoothed along most of the stick. One end is split and a thin stone, about three inches long and chipped to a thin edge on one side, is inserted. This end is then bound tight with a strip of canvas or moosehide and lashed with cord. Men's tools include the long handled ax, knife, hammer, awl, T-square, drill, plane, and file.

Each sex keeps its own tools in repair and cutting tools like the ax, knife, and scissors are always found well sharpened. Sharpening is done with a six or eight inch file, care being taken to always sharpen blades on axes in such a manner as to avoid a ridge and secure a gently tapering thinness which will assure a deep cut and prevent dangerous glancing. Certain tools are found in almost every winter settlement and may be used by both sexes or by more than one family: the one man crosscut, whip, and Swedish type buck saws, shovel, rake, pick, and mattock. Ownership of a carpenter's rule or measuring tape was not observed. Men sometimes make measuring sticks out of a straight length of willow. This is axed off sharply at one end and laid against the object to be measured, the sharply cut end against one end of the object. At the opposite end of the object the stick is notched and again sharply cut off. The size of the pole now corresponds to the object measured and is

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being derived primarily from perception, is alterable as perception reveals new data.[10] Perceptual knowledge, if true, leads to prediction and control. The success of these processes furnishes pragmatic proof of the validity of empirical beliefs. Deduction, of which mysticism is an example, is knowledge derived primarily by conception. Since purely deductive knowledge involves premises not derived from perceptual experience, such beliefs are not readily altered.

Inductive reasoning underlies many of the Kaska Indians' beliefs that guide behavior in the exploitative and technical aspects of the culture. The people have observed, for example, that marten remain in one region and do not travel indiscriminately like the fox or lynx. This empirical datum opens the possibility of control of the animal; marten may be most efficiently trapped by trapping them in the same area annually or they may be conserved by protecting them from trapping for several years. Other examples of empirical thought in Kaska society, some of them absurdly simple, are listed:

A fire will thaw frozen ground.
Wet garments on body parts are fatal in very cold weather.
Scratching an infected skin spreads the area of infection.
Blood endangers life if it enters the stomach.
Death follows the stoppage of the heart and pulse beats.
Old age reduces a person's stamina.
Birch wood is hard and therefore suitable for a toboggan.
Babiche is strong and useful for furnishing a firm lashing.
Dogs need more food when they work hard.

Reasoning which is primarily deductive is the basis of ideas concerning taboos and dreams. In these cases a traditional belief is accepted as an unalterable premise from which certain events are assumed to follow. Many examples may be given. To drink water before smoking a moosehide results in a wet hide; to dream of a sexual situation promises female game to a male hunter; blood circulates through the entire body and, since the little finger is one extreme of the body, all blood must pass through this point. Any isolated failure of the expected behavior to follow in these sequences is usually not sufficient to influence the suspension of belief in the premises. Failures in the occurrence of expected sequences are also readily overlooked. On the other hand, when the expected sequence does occur, this concurrence may be emphasized as evidence of the validity of the premise.[11]

[10] Scientific method, then, is merely a special form of empiricism in which perceptually derived knowledge is formally tested. As Kardiner has pointed out, scientific method is a peculiar achievement of western society. Empiricism, however, the basis of scientific method, is worldwide in its distribution, although particular societies probably differ in the degree to which they rely on either deduction or induction. See Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 406; Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 70–71; Hallowell, *Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Saulteaux Religion* (1934).

[11] Krige distinguishes three rational processes in Lobvedu society—mystical (or non-natural), magical, and empirical (which he calls scientific). The Lobvedu, he points out, do not discriminate between a magical and empirical apprehension of the universe, but they do distinguish between supernatural and natural. We feel it worth strengthening that all of these forms of thinking proceed logically or rationally. It is likely that such distinctions

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tered in such a point of view, and tendencies toward altruism and social identification have either a limited development or are absent. The initiation of activity tends to come from within the egocentric individual rather than from others and is correlated with a strong sense of personal responsibility for success or failure.

A striking correspondence is apparent between the egocentric aspect of Kaska personality and Horney's "detached" personality type.[4] The outstanding characteristic of this type, Horney finds, "is a need for *self-sufficiency*. Its most positive expression is resourcefulness . . . In the detached type the spirit is like Robinson Crusoe's: he has to be resourceful to live. It is the only way he can compensate for his isolation." She goes on to show that "Self-sufficiency and privacy both serve his most outstanding end, the need for utter independence. He himself considers his independence a thing of personal value . . . It manifests itself in hypersensitivity to everything in any way resembling coercion, influence, obligation and so on." Continuing, she says: "When the detached person's feeling of superiority is temporarily shattered, whether by concrete failure or by an increase of inner conflicts . . . he may reach out frantically for affection and protection." As a psychiatrist working in a particular cultural milieu, Horney sees the goals of the detached personality as "negative: he wants *not* to be involved, *not* to need anybody, *not* to allow others to intrude on or influence him." She stresses the fundamental inutility of such trends in western society. In contrast, however, the similar trend here labelled egocentricity is far more realistic in an atomistic society like that of the Kaska, where everyone is equally detached and relative self-sufficiency is economically possible.

Egocentricity and the tonicity of the ego. Egocentricity will first be discussed in connection with ego tonicity, variously expressed as ego strength, ego feeling, or self-esteem. Perhaps the simplest definition for the common referent of these concepts is: "The individual's image and evaluation of himself."[5] Here we will include with that definition the psychoanalytic notion of the ego as the partially conscious, executive mechanism of the personality through which, we may assume, the goals of the dominant motivations become realized or meet frustration.

Without at this time anticipating in detail data to be presented in connection with the other dominant motives, we may say that the facts point to the presence of moderately developed ego strength in the average Kaska Indian. Although, as will become clear, many problems are defined by the individual's doubt of his capacity for mastery, there is, on the other hand, evidence for inferring the ability of the ego to master many situations of potential danger. The people survive in an uncongenial environment and are generally optimistic of their capacity to adapt. There is no exclusive readiness to rely on traditional solutions of adaptive problems but a certain ability to experiment. Thus Hans Donnelly reported trying various woods for toboggan manufacture, despite the fact that traditionally the use of birch is specified for this purpose. People are rarely "stuck" in adaptive problems but show a considerable amount of resourcefulness and ingenuity for pulling themselves out of danger. Without the ability to make too fine discriminations, we must be content to postulate mod-

[4] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945), 77–81.

[5] Maslow and Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (1941), 133. Compare Beck's definition of the ego: "a consciousness of values to which the individual clings and which he wants the world to respect." Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 92.

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156 moderate development of the ego. No profound difference in the egocentric direction of the
X 191 masculine or feminine personality seems to obtain. Under situations of stress, illness, and old age, because of the failure of the physical capacities of the individual, the ego becomes unable to execute the egocentric demands of the personality. This leads the individual to resort to passive forms of mastery which conflict with the egocentric goal, thereby arousing anxiety.

Utilitarianism

X 181 In referring to an aspect of Kaska motivation, utilitarianism denotes a practical, func-
157 tional, ingenious approach to the problems of living, and the ability to grapple with the problems resourcefully. The motivation aims toward mastery of experience via concrete, immediate thinking, sparing a minimum of attention for abstract speculation or non-functional *elements of craftmanship like beauty, decoration, and perfectionism.*

X 181 This section will consider the expression of utilitarianism in adaptive situations, person-
128 ally adjustive behavior, the Rorschach test situation, and, finally, with reference to the Kaska Indian's reality system.

X 181 *Adaptive expression.* Utilitarianism, in motivating practical and ingenious behavior, bears
157 a close relationship to the dominant motivation of egocentricity. As already pointed out, together the two dominant motivations may be described as headed for a goal of self-sufficiency, utilitarianism aiding the achievement of independence by providing practical resourcefulness. Whereas egocentricity sponsors the attitude: "I must do this by myself," utilitarianism reinforces individualism with the statement: "I can do this alone." Faced with a rigorous and often dangerous environment, the Indian must be resourceful and competent in meeting the problems which he encounters in the atomistic social setting of his making, where cooperation is limited and professional assistance unobtainable.[9]

X 181 The role of utilitarianism in motivating adaptive problem solution is well illustrated by
157 the characteristic resourcefulness and ingenuity displayed by Kaska Indians. Consider, for
● 813 example, the cleverness with which men use common tools as substitutes for more refined implements—the ax as a saw or plane, the knife as a chisel and plane. Despite the Indian's preference for modern tools, he is never hampered when confronted with a necessary task whose postponement is impossible but for which suitable appliances are not available. Ingenuity leads a man to manufacture usable substitute equipment. While making snowshoes, preparatory to visiting the trap line, Hans Donnelly discovered that the settlement lacked small sized bits for drilling holes in the wooden frames. Spending eight to nine hours in heating and beating down the point of a file, Hans succeeded in manufacturing a suitable drill point which he then mounted in a wooden handle. When tools break in the winter trapping districts, where replacements are difficult to obtain, they are often soundly repaired with few other aids than a file, wire, and babiche. We have seen lost firing pins for .22 caliber rifles replaced with filed down nails, and split ax handles serviceably lashed with babiche. No commercial machine or apparatus, other than perhaps the radio (and here curiosity is begin-

[9] This statement may be modified if we consider that Indians sometimes secure a little expert mechanical assistance from white trappers in Lower Post. During much of the year, however, such specialized advice is not obtainable.

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ning to lead to tentative experimentation), is too complex for tinkering and repairing. Long hours are spent overhauling outboard motors and only as a last resort, when some precisely fitting piece is damaged beyond repair, will the task be abandoned and a new part purchased. A broken ax handle or a shattered snowshoe never suggest the abandonment of a journey, for such accidents can always be repaired with commonplace tools, a splint of willow, and a few feet of babiche. Several men reported encountering moose and caribou while traveling without a knife and butchering the animals with an ax. On one occasion Old Man retrieved the shell of the cartridge that had brought down the animal; then, using an ax, he beat the brass into a crude blade, fabricating an instrument with which to finish the butchering.

Utilitarianism is the personality factor on which the society relies for maintaining the mobility which is of paramount importance for economic survival. Considerable practical and ingenious thinking is displayed toward this end. For example, to lighten the weight of guns, men often saw down a rifle barrel, afterwards fitting the weapon with new sights which are then carefully tested in target shooting. A shortened barrel reduces the firing power of a weapon (it is not known if the Indians are aware of this limitation), but also makes the gun more comfortable for long marches in brushy country. Spruce wood, selected in preference to harder birch, for snowshoes represents a similar empirical and utilitarian approach to convenient travel. The prevalent use of bags and similar lightweight containers for food and clothing is another practical adaptation to the economic necessity of free mobility. One autumn, the failure of an outboard motor caused self-sufficiency to be strikingly applied to securing movement when, after a protracted period of delay, Harry Lang and his brother-in-law finally tracked and poled their boat more than fifty miles upriver from the Highway Crossing to Old Man's settlement. Their solution was the only one that could get them home while the bull moose still retained his fat and before the enforced delay, in an area where there was little game, consumed too much winter grub.

Utilitarianism, defined as a practical, functional approach to living, also shapes the attitudes towards acculturation in technical culture. We have already pointed out that the Kaska have been far more ready to borrow technological improvements than they have been to modify adjustive patterns of behavior. This acculturative set is associated with an utilitarian motivated absence of sentimentality for the aboriginal style of adaptation. This may explain the receptiveness which Morice has regarded as a characteristic trait of Athapaskan society.[9] To the utilitarian personality, the past represents a hard way of life, while newer ways of working, traveling, and general living quickly suggest their advantages.

Empirical attention to the zoological, botanical, and bodily environments too stems from utilitarian considerations, giving the practically important habits of animals far greater significance than other aspects of behavior. Kaska ethnobotany is a system of knowledge almost exclusively concerned with the economic values of woods coupled with more obvious observations of habitat. Beyond this, interest is limited. For example, Nitla could give no explanation of how trees maintained themselves or the manner in which they reproduced. Esoteric speculation and mysticism with regard to weather and in connection with sickness and death receive little elaborate development. Interest in such phenomena

[9] Morice, The Fur Trade in Anthropology, and a Few Related Questions (1908), 79.